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The Shape of Things

THE CHINESE CAPTURE OF THE TREATY PORT OF Nanning, following the recent victories at Foochow and in the provinces of Kwangsi, Hunan, and Honan, suggests a major Japanese retreat from these areas in order to strengthen their defenses in vital areas along the coast and in North China. It seems probable, too, that the enemy is moving troops from the interior of China to Manchuria to meet a possible Russian attack. But new Japanese landings north of Foochow indicate that there will be no abandonment of the China coast. Meanwhile, the speeding up of the Okinawa offensive and the virtual completion of the campaigns in the Philippines and Burma have led the Japanese to predict new United Nations operations at a number of widely scattered points. These are, of course, largely fishing expeditions designed to elicit some information from this side of the Pacific. But it is quite clear that sooner or later there will be a landing or landings somewhere on the China coast. Admiral Nimitz and several other high Navy officers have informed the Japanese that we are coming. The basic nature of American strategy will not be revealed, however, until these landings have been completed. The seizure of isolated ports such as Foochow or Swatow would be useful chiefly to strengthen the blockade against Japan. Landings at Canton, Shanghai, or in Shantung, on the other hand, would clearly forecast major land operations against the Japanese on the continent. Once the Okinawa campaign is finished, the Japanese will probably learn our intentions—the hard way.

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JUST TWO MONTHS AGO, EARL BROWDER, writing in the *New Masses,* attacked J. Alvarez del Vayo for his article V-Day and Revolution, published in *The Nation* for March 17. Del Vayo had criticized the Communists for their policy of political coalition with the right and of cooperation with big business. Browder accused Del Vayo of "defeatism" and advised him to "think more profoundly on these problems." But apparently it is Mr. Browder who is going to do some thinking. The American Communist position has been exhaustively analyzed and sharply assailed by the leading theorist in the French Communist Party, Jacques Duclos, a man who stands well with Moscow. Duclos insists that nothing going on in the world or in America justified the party's decision to convert itself into a "political association" and to support free enterprise and a truce with business, even to the point of refraining from asking for any "drastic curbs on monopoly capital" after the war. He comments ironically on the attempt to solve "the problem of national unity with the good will of the men of the trusts, and under quasi-idyllic conditions, as if the capitalist regime

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had been able to change its nature by some unknown miracle." Duclos's long article also reveals for the first time the fierce debate that raged in the political bureau of the American Communist Party over the policy advocated and finally forced through by Browder. William Foster led the opposition and fought to the end but then announced that he did not intend to make his differences with Browder known outside the central committee.

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THE ATTACK BY DUCLOS, PRINTED IN FULL IN the *Daily Worker*, undoubtedly heralds a new line; Browder's comment, obsequious in tone, "welcomes" the criticism and urges a full discussion of the issue raised. But if the Communists follow the course indicated by the French leader they will merely swing closer to the position already held by most of their European comrades. In Europe, Communist support of reactionary governments or groups has become more and more a matter of form rather than fact. The ingredients of revolution are everywhere too near the surface and the demands of the people too urgent to permit a consistent policy of collaboration. In order to maintain the strength built up during the period of underground and guerrilla fighting, the Communists in Europe have had to temper their demands for national unity to the more clamorous needs of the masses. The attitude of the American Communists has been such a travesty on a working-class program that to maintain it after the fighting ended would have meant certain political suicide. It takes at least total war to sell cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers to American workers. But it is wrong to expect, as most newspaper comments appear to, a violent reversion to full-fledged class-war tactics. Russia still wants the coalition with Britain and the United States and still needs financial and other material help from us. The Communists will, we believe, adopt a more progressive but not a revolutionary line. It is no accident that M. Duclos spoke approvingly of the more liberal wing of the American Administration and twice quoted Henry Wallace.

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HOW MUCH LONGER CAN BRITAIN AND THE United States keep Franco poised on the top of a thin jet of American oil? It's a neat trick while it lasts but it can't go on indefinitely. A good push from any direction will knock him off, and several pushes seem to be in the making. The other day the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Consultative Assembly proposed that the Allies jointly request Franco to abdicate in favor of a democratic government, and, if he refused, to break off relations with him immediately. The Committee asked the French government to put the plan up to the Allies without delay. It based its demand on security requirements, emphasizing Franco's pro-Axis behavior during the war and his present refusal to hand over Pierre Laval, Vichy's Chief of Government who fled to Spain from Germany. This move is obviously of immense political importance. If the French government acts, the British and Americans will be faced with the necessity of an immediate decision which they have been maneuvering by every means to avoid. Meanwhile anti-Franco pressure is still rising in San Francisco. Negrín's brief visit created much interest, and although Molotov and Eden had left when he arrived, he had talks with the heads of almost every important delegation. He refused to hold a press conference but in private conversations he was able to give a clear idea of his conception of how the change from fascism to democracy in Spain should be brought about. Negrín left San Francisco for a few days in Washington en route to Mexico, where he will consult with the leaders of all the Republican parties and organizations. The moment an agreement is reached among these groups, the only remaining pretext on which the British and American governments could base a refusal of the French demand will have vanished.

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THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST MAJOR test in the House has ended with a victory that should raise hopes abroad of America's dependability in the sphere of international cooperation. The passage of the Reciprocal Trade Treaty Bill by 239 to 153 was a personal triumph for the President, a demonstration of Democratic Party strength and discipline in the House, an indication that substantial forces in this country can be mustered to support a liberal trade and foreign policy. Thirty-one Republicans, including Clare Luce of Connecticut, Baldwin and Bennett of New York, Bolton of Ohio, and Wolverton of New Jersey, defied party leadership to vote for the bill, while the one "Progressive," Hull of Wisconsin, stood pat with the G. O. P. Speaker Rayburn is to be commended on his able leadership, and we also applaud Chairman Doughton of the Ways and Means Committee, Ranking Majority Member Cooper of Tennessee, and Robertson of Virginia for the aid they gave Rayburn and the President. We urge labor and liberal organizations to get busy and muster all the strength they can for the coming fight over the bill in the Senate. Final passage is the first necessary step toward a stable world peace.

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CARTELS WILL FACE HARD TIMES IF CONGRESS acts favorably on the O'Mahoney and Voorhis bills. O'Mahoney's proposed Foreign Contracts Act would require the registration of foreign contracts made by domestic and foreign companies doing business with the United States. But Congress must act quickly, for as former Attorney General Biddle pointed out when he recently testified in favor of the bill, cartel arrangements disrupted by the war are already being resumed. Biddle urged Congress to force American cartel partners to throw their international agreements open to the public, although he warned that publicity alone would not destroy the cartel system. He told of a telephone conversation between the former head of an American chemical company and the head of I. G. Farben just before we entered the war, in which the former said, "Have no fear, whatever I do will be in your interest." The fact that cartel loyalties supersede and are often inimical to the national interest was amply demonstrated by Representative Voorhis, who a few days after Biddle testified addressed the House on his resolution calling on the government to prevent the enemy nations of World War II from rebuilding their war potential in neutral or other nations and to prevent citizens, organizations, or corporations of the United States from contributing

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to the future war potential of such enemy nations through cartel agreements. Military victory has not destroyed German economic penetration. Germany was defeated before and rose to fight again largely through the help of cartel partners in the now victorious and neutral countries. They are ready to repeat the performance.

*

HITLER SAVED AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, DANIEL Heineman, when Brussels was liberated, by providing him with a special guard and enabling him to leave the city with important documents, Voorhis charged in his address in Congress. Heineman, of course, isn't an ordinary American. He is the chief representative in the United States of the Sofina Company, a huge public-utility holding company organized in Brussels and now registered in Panama. Its managerial offices are in New York, its technical staff is in Lisbon, and it keeps its books in Cuba. Heineman was one of the chief figures behind the Sofina meeting in Lisbon last year when representatives of manufacturers of warring and neutral countries met to facilitate the protection of German interests in neutral and Allied countries. The spotlight was thrown on Heineman and the Lisbon meeting by Voorhis in a facts-and-figures speech on the cartel international. Voorhis said that he had just received evidence that representatives of the Spanish subsidiary of the German Schering Corporation recently walked into the American embassy at Madrid with a proposal for merging the Spanish subsidiary of Schering of Berlin with the American Schering Company of Bloomfield, New Jersey, so that relations with the German company might be closer. Germans, Voorhis asserted, control 40 per cent of Spain's entire industry; I. G. Farben alone has fourteen subsidiaries there. Further, German industry owns or controls some five hundred subsidiaries and affiliates in Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

*

THE OPENING GUN WAS FIRED IN THE FIGHT to assure health, security, and jobs in post-war America with the introduction of a broadened social-security program under the sponsorship of Senators Wagner and Murray and Representative Dingell. The new bill contains many of the proposals found in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell measure introduced in the last Congress and many of the revisions suggested in recent years by the Social Security Board. The plan for health and hospital insurance has been strengthened, on the basis of recommendations in the report of the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education. In addition to bringing adequate medical care within the means of most of the American people, this bill would strengthen our public-health service, standardize unemployment insurance under federal auspices, and extend the coverage of this broadened program to some 15,000,000 workers who are denied its protection. This extension of protection to the least secure portion of our population should aid materially in sustaining consumer buying power and thus assure a higher level of employment. Although the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., and most authorities in the field of social insurance and public health strongly support the bill, it faces a stubborn fight in Congress. The groups which defeated the Murray-Kilgore bill last autumn will most certainly gang up on this far more comprehensive measure, and it can be pushed through only by an impressive demonstration of public support.

The British Elections

THE resignation of the Churchill government marks the end of a long era. No election has been held since 1935; the Parliament now dissolved survived Mussolini's Ethiopian adventure, the Spanish War, Munich, and the total war that followed. Deaths and resignations aside, it was still a Baldwin Parliament. It had long outlived its day. The government itself, remade by Mr. Churchill in May, 1940, when the incapacity of Mr. Chamberlain became obvious, was a different matter; it was a war coalition and a strong one. Created at the most critical hour of Britain's history, it brought the country through to a great triumph. Its strength lay in part in the courage and capacity of its leader, Winston Churchill. But credit must also go in large measure to the British people as a whole, who gladly subordinated group and party interests to work for the common goal of victory. When the Nazi aggression was crushed, the end of the coalition became inevitable. That Mr. Churchill precipitated the issue by resigning now instead of postponing the elections until autumn, as Mr. Attlee asked, was a bit of political ruthlessness. But a long delay would have been out of the question in any event. Mr. Churchill's proposal that the coalition should continue until the end of the war with Japan was totally unrealistic in the face of crowding domestic and foreign problems which neither Parliament nor government was chosen to meet.

As Michael Foot points out elsewhere in this issue, Labor is badly handicapped by having to launch a campaign against Mr. Churchill only a few weeks after his government's triumph in the war. Yet many of the qualities that made Churchill an unequaled war leader render him unfit for constructive post-war leadership. The doggedness with which he held out against the possibility that his country could go down is matched by a similar determination that the England and empire of tomorrow shall not differ in essentials from the England and empire of his youth. In its fight against Churchill Labor has two powerful domestic issues —jobs and homes—to set against the Prime Minister's tremendous prestige. Undoubtedly the British people are desperately concerned with post-war employment and housing. But Churchill is a master campaigner, and he may try to keep a foot in each camp by adopting a Tory-reformist line, claiming credit for the Beveridge plan, the various housing projects, and the educational schemes which were formulated by the more liberal members of the war-time coalition. If he follows this strategy he will be hard to beat.

Churchill is more vulnerable to a determined Labor attack on foreign policy. Already the outlines of this attack may be seen in the pre-campaign statements of Clement Attlee, Ernest Bevin, and Hugh Dalton. In view of the immense sympathy for Russia that exists throughout England, Labor can be expected to hammer home its well-founded contention that a Socialist government is more likely to succeed in removing the existing suspicion between London and

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Moscow than an all-Tory government. Its position on Poland, in particular, is both reasonable and conciliatory. Moreover, Labor can make effective use of Churchill's bitter opposition to the rise of popular governments in the liberated countries and his persistent support of reaction in Spain. The responsibility for these policies rests clearly with the Prime Minister, although Labor will undoubtedly have occasion to regret the Citrine whitewash of British action in Greece. But in spite of its undeniable complicity in the political mistakes of the coalition, Labor can and should wage a strong campaign on the need of a democratic foreign policy. The British people want peace even more than houses and jobs.

Rankin and Veterans

FOR many months grave charges against the Veterans Administration have issued in an unending stream from a variety of independent and responsible sources, including the New York *Times* and the *Journal of the American Medical Association.* The truth or falsity of these charges is of the utmost importance to the future health and welfare of our 12,000,000 returning servicemen. Representative Rankin, however, is not concerned. Having previously killed a House resolution that would have provided for an impartial inquiry, he has now proceeded to the major task of intimidating and discrediting all sincere critics of the Veterans Administration.

The first victim was Representative Philip P. Philbin of Massachusetts, who vainly tried to present several hundred letters of complaint against the agency. The one question which exercised the committee was how Mr. Philbin had secured a large number of copies of a magazine containing an exposé of the Veterans Administration which he had distributed to members of Congress.

Albert Deutsch, medical reporter for *PM,* who was the next witness, fared even worse. The low medical standards of the Veterans Administration and, in particular, its deplorable lack of mental-hygiene facilities, concerning which Mr. Deutsch has prepared a careful report, were subjects of no apparent interest to the committee. At any rate it did not permit him to testify. Instead, at Rankin's insistence, it cited Deutsch for contempt because he refused to name five doctors with the Veterans Administration who had given him information in confidence. Albert Q. Maisel of Hearst's *Cosmopolitan,* is in the pillory as we go to press. Thus far the committee's interest has centered on topics so germane to veteran welfare as the rate which *Cosmopolitan* pays for feature articles, and whether Mr. Maisel imputes an anti-New York bias to the committee.

The nation-wide editorial protest which greeted Rankin's high-handed treatment of Deutsch indicates that the right of newspaper reporters to receive information in confidence is solidly established. It is clear that the House will not sustain Rankin in his action against Deutsch.

Rankin has now come up smiling with two new bills. One is allegedly designed to improve the caliber of medical personnel in the Veterans Administration by removing civil-service restrictions. Under the present set-up this would probably mean an increase in patronage and further deterioration of the medical service. The other bill would guarantee $20 a week for a full year to every returning veteran, whether employed or not. According to Rankin, the present law, which restricts payment of this sum to unemployed veterans, "encourages idleness and loafing." This is as bad an argument against social security as has been advanced, and it certainly does not answer any of the charges that have been brought against the Veterans Administration. The investigation of these charges cannot be left to the Veterans Committee, which has too intimate a relationship with the Veterans Administration. It certainly cannot be intrusted to the chairmanship of Representative Rankin, who, apart from his other conspicuous qualifications, is believed to have received powerful support from General Hines, head of the Veterans Administration, in his early fight for renewal of the Dies committee. The job is one for an independent Congressional committee that is not afraid to dig for the facts.

The Cabinet Changes

MR. TRUMAN means to be President of the United States. Leaving out of account his chance of reelection, he is slated to sit in the White House for a bit more than three and a half years. And it is now quite clear that he does not intend to pass that time as an interim President or even as a substitute for a deceased President.

He has his own rather definite ideas about administration. In the Cabinet changes announced last week he has given these ideas their first important expression. The changes indicate not so much a swing to the right or to the left as an insistence upon orderly and effective organization of the government.

Mr. Truman struck at the weakest spots, at the political liabilities, in the Cabinet he inherited. Frances Perkins has been Secretary of Labor for twelve years, and for about a decade of that span there has been a widespread demand that she be replaced. It is much to her credit that she herself joined in this demand and was prevailed upon to remain in office only because of her devotion to President Roosevelt. Among farmers Claude Wickard was almost as complete a political cipher as Miss Perkins was among union workers. Frances Biddle, too, was without any grass-roots political support and had become a handy target for criticism of the Administration.

The nomination of Lewis Schwellenbach to head the Department of Labor clearly portends a reorganization of federal activities in the labor field. As chairman of the Senate committee investigating the war effort, Mr. Truman was sharply critical of "conflicting authority over and responsibility for" various war programs. Judge Schwellenbach can be expected to effect the kind of coordinated control in which the President believes. If there are protests against him from labor on the ground that he is not a union man, they will probably be entirely pro forma. He was a liberal judge and a vigorous New Deal Senator. A good many persons now applauding his appointment have forgotten that he was one of the leaders in Mr. Roosevelt's fight for reorganization of the Supreme Court.

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The President's predilection for centralized authority was also expressed in his choice of Clinton Anderson to take over both the Department of Agriculture and the War Food Administration. As chairman of the House Committee on Elections, Anderson did a fair, forthright, and extremely skilful job last fall. Under difficult circumstances he defended the right of organized workers to share effectively in the political life of the nation through the P. A. C. He put a stop to witch-hunting, and he turned a spotlight on the antics of O'Daniel in Texas. As chairman of the House food-investigating committee, he has been at least an exponent of full production, and his reports have been in the main constructive. How soundly he will administer what he has thus far only criticized is still to be seen.

Tom Clark for Attorney General is the most puzzling and most uncertain of the President's choices—a choice explicable only in political terms. With all Biddle's vacillations and hesitations, he undoubtedly had a fine record in respect to civil liberties. The Department of Justice has been wholly free from hysteria and has dealt decently with aliens and minority groups—in particular with the unfortunate citizens of Japanese descent. That this record will be maintained under Clark is not entirely certain. Carey McWilliams has revealed he was one of General DeWitt's advisers before the mass-exclusion order was issued on the West Coast. We can only hope that he will stand firm in the trying period of reconversion and national reorientation.

There is nothing in these choices to suggest an abandonment of New Deal policies. President Truman is wise to bolster his Administration with persons who possess political strength. And he is certainly entitled to have around him men of his own choosing on whose personal devotion he can rely. That he was by no means trying to clear out of office the close friends of his predecessors is amply attested by his retention of Morgenthau and Ickes and by his designation of Harry Hopkins and Joseph Davies as his special diplomatic emissaries.

Conference Notes

San Francisco, May 25

I HAVE met the colorful Arab delegation at almost every party I have gone to. Historical processes are rapidly eliminating the princes of royal blood, and when an Otto of Hapsburg is no longer available to recall the romantic days of imperial Vienna, an Oriental Royal Highness is decidedly welcome. The Arab delegation is making the most of this upper-class weakness. Among its members are highly intelligent diplomats, politicians, and business men. They speak with equal competence of poetry and petroleum.

The creation of a League of Arab States was in itself an extremely shrewd move. In order to be able to represent Christian as well as Moslem elements the League includes Lebanon, which is historically a Christian state, although only about 58 per cent of its actual population is Christian. In this way the League can work both ends, calling on the Moslems when necessary and on Christian sentiment when that is advisable. The Arab League is well adapted to various types of political intrigue as, for example, the attempt to oust French influence from Syria and Lebanon. But Professor Yahuda of the New School for Social Research charged in a press conference here that the main objective of those who wanted the five Arab states in the conference was to liquidate the Balfour Declaration and avoid the obligation of making Palestine the Jewish national home.

Business goes hand in hand with politics. American oil magnates joined in the enthusiastic reception accorded the Saudi Arabians, in whom they see a source of compensation for their difficulties in Mexico and elsewhere. As a result of all this, the Arabian delegation is being treated as one of the most important factors in building peace and collective security. Both these objectives are strangely symbolized on the green flag waving with the other United Nations flags above the entrance of the Fairmont Hotel. On it an Arabic inscription proclaims that there is no other God than Allah and no other prophet than his "messenger" Mohammed—and it bears the sword as an emblem. Undoubtedly, among the various talents represented in the Arab delegation, there is at least one jurist who can reconcile the cult of the sword with the aims of the organization for international security!

It is believed that San Francisco is only the first of a series of international conferences that will alternate with conversations among the Big Three and, eventually, the Big Five. Rather tardily, as is usual among the democracies, it is now being admitted that some kind of inter-Allied council should have been created two years ago to pave the way for the present meeting. Since this was not done, a number of conferences will have to be held during the next two years. It is useless to try to exclude political problems, as has been attempted here. Political problems enter the meeting rooms despite all efforts to bar them. It is interesting that the statements of various delegations regretting that the political policy of the United Nations had not been better formulated in advance are exactly those set forth week after week in *The Nation*. Nobody learns until the damage is done, and those who have learned least are the diplomats who failed so tragically in 1938 and are directly responsible for the millions of dead in 1945. The old diplomacy is again in evidence in San Francisco, exhibiting an arrogance that Talleyrand might have inspired.

Up to now no fewer than six cities have been suggested as the seat of the new international organization—Philadelphia, Ottawa, Vienna, Monte Carlo, Tangier, and Geneva.

Philadelphia finds few supporters among the Europeans, not because of any general anti-American sentiment but because of a more than mild distrust of the influence of American diplomacy.

Ottawa has definite advantages because it is near the United States without being in the United States.

Vienna, it is said, is favored by the Russians.

Monte Carlo was the proposal, serious or otherwise, of Mr. Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's amiable Foreign Minister. Certainly the little state of Monaco offers suitable neutral territory, and nobody can deny the material attractions of the place.

Tangier is a French idea. This odd proposal makes some

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sense. For Tangier is not only a beautiful and well-situated city. It is also, under normal conditions, an international city. Once chosen as the seat of the world organization, Tangier would only have to be retrieved from the violent hands of Franco and restored to its proper legal status.

Geneva had at the beginning few partisans despite a plan to create a "free zone," embracing the city, between Switzerland and France and thus to by-pass Russia's long-standing objections to Switzerland. Those who favor Geneva argue that the old League buildings costing millions are already there with archives, library, texts of treaties, and all the paraphernalia needed to carry on the work started at San Francisco. Today it looks as though this argument, plus the "free zone," might win the decision for Geneva. But the memories of the League weigh heavily against it.

J. A. del V.

Canada's Post-War Election

BY J. KING GORDON

Toronto, May 29

CANADA faces a national election immediately after the close of the European war. The vote on June 11 will reflect attitudes and sentiments induced by Canada's five and a half years of strenuous war effort. It will also reflect to some extent divisions of opinion on post-war policies.

The present Liberal government of Prime Minister W. L. MacKenzie King goes to the people on its war record and on its program for post-war reconstruction. Few people to whom I spoke during the last few days in eastern Canada had much doubt that after June 11 Mr. King would embark upon his sixth term. The main question is whether he will have a clear majority. The second question is which will be the second party and official opposition—the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation led by M. J. Coldwell, M. P., or the Progressive Conservative party led by John Bracken?

Six months ago very few Canadians would have given Mr. King any odds on his chances of re-election. The wartime crisis over conscription had reached its most acute stage. The Minister of National Defense had resigned in protest over the continuation of the policy of voluntary enlistment for overseas service, the Cabinet was badly split, the pressure in all parts of Canada outside of Quebec had risen to irresistible proportions. Mr. King appointed a new Minister of National Defense, General McNaughton, and then adopted a limited policy of overseas conscription. This shift was interpreted in Quebec as a betrayal of Mr. King's anti-conscription pledge: elsewhere in Canada it was held to be too little and too late. The defeat of General McNaughton in a by-election and the elimination of the Liberal government in the province of Quebec were taken to be omens of the fate that awaited Mr. King when he went to the polls.

Now Mr. King goes to the polls and he will probably be returned. What has happened to change the picture? The first important happening is obviously the end of the war in Europe. Conscription has become an issue in retrospect. True, Mr. King has declared that there will be no conscription for the war in the Pacific but since only a small proportion of Canada's land, sea, and air forces will be wanted it is difficult to awaken much protest about a voluntary system which has raised nearly a million men in all branches of the service. In the second place, with the war over, the government's total war effort comes in for cooler appraisal. Even leaders in the opposition parties are compelled to admit that for a country of twelve millions Canada has achieved goals in military mobilization, war production and civilian controls that have measured up to the best efforts of the other Allied powers. In the third place the Progressive Conservatives' preoccupation with conscription has emphasized the barrenness of the party in political ideas and the incapacity of top Conservative leadership. In the fourth place, the anti-conscriptionist, anti-King sentiment in Quebec has become weak and diffuse. The Bloc Populaire, which had led a passionate French nationalist movement against Mr. King has petered out to a shadow of its former menace. The most famous of French Canadian comedians recently brought the house down with a skit entitled "Le Bloc Flop."

An interesting illustration of the confusion of the present Canadian political picture is to be found in the role of the Progressive Conservatives in Quebec. Throughout the rest of Canada they are flailing Mr. King on conscription for reasons precisely opposite to those raised by the Bloc. In Quebec, they are using a devious tactic. Their organizer announced that the Progressive-Conservative party would run 27 candidates, it would back 33 "Independent" candidates, and it would not oppose 5 others including Mayor Camillien Houde, the violent and colorful anti-conscriptionist who was released from internment camp just in time to be elected mayor of Montreal. The Independents are almost all nationalists who have opposed the government's war policy. In 1911, as the Winnipeg *Free Press* pointed out in an unanswerable editorial on May 23, the Conservative Party followed similar tactics of playing both ends against the middle. To this day the maneuver is referred to in Quebec as "the Great Betrayal." The general impression seems to be that Mr. King will take at least forty of Quebec's sixty-five seats.

With this solid bloc of Quebec seats it is generally agreed that the King government will gain sufficient seats throughout the rest of Canada to return him to office: it is very doubtful, however, that he will receive enough to give him an over-all majority. The western provinces, led by Saskatchewan, are showing a strong leaning toward the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Throughout the whole country the C. C. F. has been urging the necessity of a planned economy with the nationalization of basic utilities and industries to meet the post-war needs of the Canadian people. The

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outstanding exception in the western picture is Alberta where the Social Crediters will likely send back their usual quota. The Maritime provinces may show slight C. C. F. and Progressive Conservative gains. Ontario with its eighty-two seats is, therefore, the crucial province.

Ontario is particularly interesting because it is holding its provincial election just one week to the day before the Federal election. The issues generally discussed are provincial issues. In the last election the C. C. F. made spectacular gains increasing its representation in the legislature from nothing to thirty-four, just four seats less than those held by the Progressive Conservatives under George Drew. During the session of the legislature two developments occurred to complicate the political picture. Mitchell Hepburn, former arch-enemy of the C. I. O. and of Mr. King, returned to the leadership of the Ontario Liberals. The Communist Party re-emerged in the guise of the Labor Progressives. Their leader in the legislature, A. A. McLeod, urging a Labor-Liberal coalition, established himself as Mr. Hepburn's guide, counsellor and friend. For a time, this strange political marriage caused some confusion in the industrial districts of Ontario and perhaps harmed the C. C. F. But organized labor is strongly back of the C. C. F. The Canadian Congress of Labor has endorsed its program and local C. I. O. unions are solid in their support. The same applies to many A. F. of L. locals although right-wing labor and communist influence at top levels of the Trades and Labor Congress has swung that body toward the Liberal Party.

During the last week the basic programmatic debate was swept aside by the blast from a political bomb dropped fairly in the camp of Premier Drew by C. C. F. leader Ted Jolliffe, a serious-minded young lawyer whom no one has ever thought of as extreme or irresponsible. The C. C. F. group as a whole have shown great forebearance in the face of an unscrupulous and heavily financed campaign of defamation. When in a full-length radio address, Jolliffe accused Premier Drew of maintaining a secret police, a "Gestapo" for prying into the affairs of political opponents, and affirmed that he had full affidavits to support the accusation, all other issues were for the moment forgotten. Drew replied with an absolute denial, admitting, however, that there was in existence a "special department" of the provincial police devoted to the task of investigating "sabotage." He announced that a Royal Commission would be appointed to probe the charges.

The outcome in the federal election depends to a great extent on the Ontario vote. Should Jolliffe's charge convince the voters, Drew will suffer defeat: nobody likes a Gestapo. But such a charge is powerful dynamite and the blast goes in all directions. Many people may suspend judgment until after the Royal Commission reports. In that case Drew may hold his own or even gain. An important gain for Drew would strengthen the Progressive Conservatives across Canada but not sufficiently to give them the edge on Mr. King; it would also weaken seriously the chances of the C. C. F. becoming the official opposition in Ottawa. If the C. C. F. can hold its own or gain in Ontario, then it would become the second party in Ottawa. In that position, while it would on no account enter into any coalition with the Liberals, it would certainly back the government in any progressive post-war legislation and would even be in a position to force the adoption of a program more advanced than the government would otherwise inaugurate.

The British People Must Choose

BY MICHAEL FOOT

BRITAIN'S forthcoming election will be the most baffling for the prophet of any held in this century. No appeal to the polls has been made for ten years; masses of electors have been shifted from their homes by the circumstances of war; the party machines are rusty; several million young men and women in the services who have never voted before in their lives will be deprived of the chance of participating in the controversy although provision has been made for them to vote; finally, some of the issues are blurred owing to the fact that all the leaders of all the major parties have been members of a Coalition which has not only won the war but has produced jointly several projects for post-war policy.

These are formidable obstacles to the presentation of a clear choice. But the alternative—a postponement of the election until after the Japanese war—was intolerable. Mr. Churchill can hardly have advanced this as a serious suggestion; it was more a device for branding the Labor Party with the responsibility of forcing the issue and disrupting "national unity." During the campaign several smaller crocodiles than Mr. Churchill will weep tears over "the unpatriotic course which the misguided party politicians have chosen to follow against the advice of the great war leader." Such lamentations will not be taken very seriously. The present Parliament was returned in 1935 on a pledge that the most effective sanctions would be applied against Mussolini in Abyssinia. Mr. Chamberlain, now deceased, even assured those who gave him their confidence that a failure of the League policy in Abyssinia would entitle us to be held up to shame before our children and our children's children; four years later he was in Rome toasting the new Emperor of Ethiopia, King Victor Emmanuel. These memories, and they could be multiplied a hundred-fold, explain the undercurrent of bitterness in British politics, which only the headlong tides of war could submerge. They explain also why an election could not be decently postponed much longer.

The present Parliament, "the Long Parliament," is old and incapable. Indeed, several dozens of its number have mercifully passed away owing to hardening of the arteries, water on the brain, and other ailments. Increasingly in the past few months the consequent by-elections have revealed

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how eager the people were to try something new even in constituencies once regarded as impregnably Conservative. There is also a suspicion that in the past few months, in order to avoid these awkward contests, the corpses of a few defunct Tory M. P.'s have been dumped in the cellars of St. Stephen's just near the place where Guy Fawkes stored his dynamite.

If the results of these by-elections were to be taken as a final and accurate guide, the obvious prophecy would be a sweeping victory for Labor and a reversal of the present situation, where the Tories control some 400 seats and the Labor Party 170. The Labor Party, of course, has not contested these elections on its own account; according to the political truce any vacancies were to be filled by the nomination of the party in possession. However, left-wing voters chafed under the yoke. A series of independent or Common Wealth candidates challenged the Coalition. They could not fight formally on Labor's platform; but the green gills of any Tory M. P. on the morrow of one of these smashing victories testified to the discomfort of the Tory machine. No one can doubt that it is genuinely scared. By-election returns, Gallup polls, reports from the services, have all shown the same tendency. There has been no sign of a positive mass enthusiasm for the Labor Party; there have been plentiful signs of disgust with the Tories and sure evidence that the rock of apathy and quiescence which was the chief Tory bulwark in the days of Chamberlain is finally splintered. As often before in history, war has broken the fetters on men's minds and made them eager to experiment with new social forms.

However, a General Election is something vastly different from a by-election. This is the fact that soothes the fevered nightmares of the Tories. A vote against the Tories at a by-election did not involve the displacement of Mr. Churchill; it merely made him irritable for a few days. A vote for Labor at the coming General Election may remove him from office, and the Tories, of course—including the vast majority of their number who condemned and ostracized him as a man of "no judgment" ten years ago when he was talking sense about the Nazis—know well enough that Mr. Churchill is their only asset. Without him they are naked and shameless ex-Munichites and appeasers. With him they are the bold champions of the Man Who Won the War, outraged by the insolence of Labor, which dares to dissent from so matchless a leader.

The Churchill card is the only winning one in the Tory pack with the possible exception of Mr. Eden, who masquerades as a modest queen; the other knaves and jokers, the Beaverbrooks, Brackens, Hudsons, and such, will be kept up Tory sleeves and out of sight until the game is over. Churchill is certainly a high trump. He will command the radio with an eloquence none of his rivals can attempt, with a voice already known and widely revered throughout the land. By one of the strangest ironies in history the whole future of the Conservative Party rests in the hands of a man who could not muster six Tory votes in the House of Commons a dozen years ago.

Labor has no personality to set against Churchill's. Attlee, the leader of the party and almost certainly Premier if Labor is returned, is effective in committee but unable to impress the public. Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison have both performed huge tasks in the war. Stafford Cripps has a great reputation for integrity and administrative ability, and his return to the party is a big addition of strength. Outside the ranks of the official leadership Labor's campaign will be led by men like Aneurin Bevan and Emmanuel Shinwell, the two best platform speakers in the country. Altogether Labor could form an administration quite as competent as the Tories', although of course none would possess the world prestige of Churchill.

There are big issues to be fought out altogether apart from personalities, and here the running is made by Labor. The Tory campaign, which has hitherto been largely in the hands of men like Beaverbrook and Bracken and the diehards of the party, has concentrated on attacking war-time controls and the restraints on private enterprise. The Younger Tories would have preferred a greater emphasis on promises of social reform, full employment, and housing. Perhaps Mr. Churchill, a skilful electioneer, will contrive a delicate blend of the two appeals. There is nothing like a bet both ways, especially when safe jobs and good homes are the two needs uppermost in the minds of the British people.

Jobs and homes are, of course, the two chief items in Labor's program. Labor claims that they can be secured only by a program which goes far beyond the modest plans for an expansionist finance policy and a Town and Country Planning Act agreed upon by the Coalition in its halcyon days. The Labor Party is committed to a full-blooded program of nationalization, including coal mines, electricity, steel, and transport, together with a considerable measure of nationalization of finance and land. The leaders, and the rank and file of the party somewhat more vocally, appeal for the foundation of "a Socialist Commonwealth." The word may sound startling in American ears. After forty years of Labor propaganda and five years of war which have left Britain with no assets but the skill and energy of its people, plus the potentialities of leadership among its statesmen, the phrase does not really sound so frightening.

Even if Labor should win, it would be no easy task to build a Socialist Commonwealth in a war-ravaged land, and no Labor spokesmen will promise a simple road to paradise. But descending for one moment from the lofty altitudes of impartiality hitherto so painfully scaled in this article, it may be said in conclusion that there is a very real choice the British people have to make.

To reconstruct Britain after the most devastating experience in its history, to rebuild its broken cities, to recover its trade, to reequip its industries, and at the same time to provide all those social amenities which its people now demand will call for an unexampled burst of communal energy. The nation will hardly be able to do it on the old cutthroat pattern, and it would be wise not to dally with the old-fashioned methods which seemed to spell the decline of British industry in the twenties and thirties. If Labor in Britain could do the task while jealously protecting the civil liberties so justly prized by Western nations, it would have conducted an experiment in social democracy to amaze and lead the world.

The British people must begin to make their choice in July.

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Trouble Brews in China

BY T. A. BISSON

ON MAY 17 an apparently routine announcement under a Chungking date line stated that the Sixth National Kuomintang Congress had definitely set November 12, 1945, as the date for convening a National Assembly to approve the draft constitution. Ironically enough, this decision is being publicized in the United States as a progressive move inaugurating "constitutional government," whereas in fact it represents a desperate maneuver that may well foreclose any possibility of a constructive settlement of China's internal problems.

The current Kuomintang effort to introduce a constitution under its own auspices by unilateral action has already precipitated in China the most ominous political crisis of the past decade. For most of this period the constitutional issue has remained dormant. It has now been raised in a fashion which threatens to split China into two states, each with its own formally organized government. Once this development has taken place, the task of restoring even nominal unity will be virtually hopeless and the danger of eventual civil war in China will be sharply accentuated.

The Chinese News Service dispatch of May 17 declared that all questions concerning the membership and powers of the new National Assembly would be "left to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang or its standing committee to decide." Opinions of elements outside the Kuomintang, it was stated, would receive "careful consideration" in the People's Political Council, scheduled to meet in July.

On the membership issue, however, it is clear that the essential decision has been taken by the present Kuomintang Congress. The "consensus" of the Kuomintang delegates was phrased as "recognition of the validity of delegates elected before the war generally, and the holding of supplementary elections to make the Assembly more fully representative." This decision means that a considerable group in the National Assembly will consist of delegates chosen by the Kuomintang in 1936-37, and that the remainder will be "elected" in the coming months under Kuomintang procedures and from Kuomintang territory. A National Assembly thus constituted will be wholly unrepresentative of the Chinese people.

This National Assembly, moreover, is not a true constituent assembly. Its members are not meeting to frame a constitution. They are being summoned to give formal sanction to a draft constitution which has been carefully prepared by the Kuomintang leadership. Such "powers" as may be conferred upon the Assembly by the Central Executive Committee will be rendered illusory by this document, even though innocuous textual changes may be inserted by the hand-picked delegates. Their deliberations, so different from the strenuous sessions of the Philadelphia convention in 1787, will be a travesty of the constitution-making process.

The authoritarian character of the draft constitution has evoked criticism from virtually all sectors of Chinese political life except the Kuomintang's inner group. Under its provisions, vast substantive and appointive powers are vested in the President, who holds office for six years and may be reelected for a second term. He is chosen not by popular vote but by an elected National Assembly. He is also responsible to this National Assembly, which, however, he convenes for but one month once every three years, except in emergencies. He appoints all members of the Executive Yuan, which in turn submits budgetary and statutory measures to the Legislative Yuan. A bill of rights is inserted, but it is doubly restricted. As in the Japanese constitution, each right is specifically qualified by the phrase "except in accordance with law." In addition, Article 25 blankets the issue by providing that "laws imperative for safeguarding national security, averting national crisis, maintaining public peace and order, or promoting public interest may restrict the citizens' liberties and rights." Instead of establishing the federalism which Chinese conditions require, the draft constitution makes the provinces mere agents of the central authorities by providing that governors be appointed by the central government.

All details of the draft constitution are painstakingly framed so as to ease the transition of the Kuomintang into the snug trappings of the new regime, through which it may continue to exercise its dictatorial powers with "constitutional" sanction. The war and post-war destiny of China may turn on whether the Kuomintang seriously determines to execute this political maneuver. A change of heart can still take place at the session of the People's Political Council in July. Very probably the Kuomintang wished to leave this possible avenue of compromise open.

At the moment, and this is the major weakness of its position, the Kuomintang is playing a lone hand on the constitutional issue. The Democratic League, composed of the political parties and groups in Kuomintang China which have yet to receive legal status, has registered no support for the Assembly now scheduled to meet in November. On the contrary, the Democratic League and the Chinese Communists are joining in a demand for establishment of a coalition government, formed by an all parties' conference. They maintain that the organization of such a government and the legalization of all Chinese parties are the necessary condition for the free elections which can alone create a National Assembly with the authority to adopt a constitution. In principle, however, they are not in favor of adopting a constitution until after the war, when all Chinese territory will have been liberated and the elections to an Assembly can be nation wide. The immediate need, in their opinion, is for a coalition government that can unify the country and prosecute the war with full popular support.

The Democratic League, at present cooperating with the Chinese Communists in a loose "united front," will occupy a strategic position of considerable significance during the

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next few months. If the parties and groups in the League were given legal status, there can be little doubt that they would be able to rally behind them the progressive political sentiment of Kuomintang China. The Kuomintang's political tactics are to detach the League from its alliance with the Communists and enrol it in the drive to push the draft constitution through the Assembly in November, while at the same time refusing to give legal status to the groups included in it. Once the Kuomintang has intrenched itself in the provisions of the draft constitution, opposition parties will become a necessity, but they will have little possibility of shaking loose the dictatorship's grip. It would be awkward if the Democratic League refused to grace the new constitutional regime by nominating candidates for election and taking at least some government posts. There is already evidence that the Chungking government is seeking to manufacture one or two new parties in order to have some recourse in case the Democratic League remains obdurate.

The Chinese Communists, of course, are not expected to participate in the coming National Assembly. The move is in fact directed against them. With the draft constitution in operation, the Chungking authorities will have gained a position from which they can move openly toward civil war with a show of legal authority. They must first be certain that the present American support will continue. Assured of this, they can declare the Chinese Communists outlawed and invoke the crisis powers set forth in Article 44 of the draft constitution.

The first Chungking announcement of its constitutional intentions, early in March, was greeted in Yenan as a declaration of political war, which indeed it was. Yenan's rejoinder warned Chiang Kai-shek that he was taking the dictatorial course followed by Yuan Shih-kai, and that the end of that road would turn out to be the same—political extinction. Since then the Chinese Communist Party has held its Seventh Congress at Yenan, matching the Sixth Kuomintang Congress just concluded at Chungking. At this meeting preliminary steps were taken to assemble at Yenan next autumn a body of elected representatives from the Border Region and each of the guerrilla base areas now established in more than half the provinces of China, mainly north of the Yellow River. The group of elected representatives will presumably be meeting at about the time that the National Assembly convenes at Chungking. It will constitute, in all but name, a government representing close to 100,000,000 Chinese people. At the appropriate moment, gauged by the steps taken in Chungking, the name can be assumed.

These developments have not yet gone so far that there can be no turning back. At San Francisco the Chinese delegation includes one Communist and two leaders of the Democratic League—an indication that political cooperation has not yet been entirely disrupted. Conciliatory forces may still be able to exercise some influence at the People's Political Council in July.

The issues in China are of such dimensions that they transcend the bounds of domestic Chinese affairs and require a new approach at the highest international level. No settlement is possible without frank and full diplomatic consultation between Washington and Moscow. The diplomatic initiative rests with the United States. Current developments in China are a direct result of the recent shift in American policy from the mediator's role, encouraging political agreement, to that of exclusive support for Chungking. It is still possible to retrieve the situation, but the time is growing short. The brief span of a few months may be all that is given.

The Northwest Needs a CVA

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

AT THE end of the war the people of the Pacific Northwest face not a problem but an emergency of major proportions. In this region "post-war adjustment" will require a redistribution of population, a rapid development of resources, and a general reorganization of the economy. Other war-industry centers are concerned with shifting war workers to peace-time jobs; in the Northwest the problem is to create the jobs. The talk here is not of "reconversion" but of possible "new industries," not of "adjustment" but of "regional development."

Before the war the Northwest was one of our newest and brightest domestic colonies. Since it was a new colony, it did not show the outward evidences of exploitation. The average per capita income was relatively high. The inventory of untapped resources was impressive. The signs of blight were negligible. Yet to a large extent the region was living on its capital. The basic resources from which much of its income was derived were in some cases being rapidly depleted. It was not a "problem area," but it had many serious problems. It lacked balance. It had too much water in some sections and not enough in others, power going to waste in some places and a lack of power in others. Its industries lacked diversity, its pay rolls stability. The situation was made worse by the fact that powerful interests, profiting from the region's undeveloped colonial status, were opposed to industrial expansion. Only after a bitter fight with these interests was the expansion obtained that the war emergency demanded.

Since the beginning of the war the labor force of the region has increased 50 per cent, its income 100 per cent, and its population 10 per cent—the interior areas have been drained of man-power by the war industries on the coast. The chief war industries are shipbuilding, aircraft manufacture, and light metals, in all of which severe cut-backs are clearly foreseeable. New jobs must somehow be found for 500,000 war workers and veterans. That means that the region will have to produce goods and services worth $8 billion a year and provide around 2,300,000 jobs of one kind or another. Since its resources are largely undeveloped, an enormous investment program will be required. And since

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the economy is already out of balance, there must be unified regional development. Both requirements demand a plan and a planning agency.

The immediate problem, of course, is to cushion the effects of the cut-back period. Plans for this transitional period already exist. The governors of the Northwest states, through the Northwest States Development Association, have approved blueprints for fifty large-scale post-war projects requiring an investment of $600,000,000 and providing employment for perhaps 100,000 workers. Fortunately these plans are all related, directly or indirectly, to the development of the Columbia River basin. If the projects can be constructed quickly and as a single planned development, they will greatly accelerate the general industrial and agricultural expansion needed to provide permanent jobs. For example, developments and installations necessary to open up 1,000,000 acres of Columbia Basin lands for the settlement of an estimated 50,000 farm families, previously projected over a period of fifteen or twenty years, might be completed in half the time if intelligently planned and efficiently carried out by a regional development corporation. Such a project cannot be accomplished through the cumbersome device of interstate compacts or by agencies directed from 3,000 miles away.

Plans for the larger task are also in existence—on paper and in broad outline. The seven-point program calls for (1) preparing some two and a half million acres of land for development; (2) developing a river transportation system to provide the Inland Empire with cheap and easy access to the sea; (3) harnessing the region's vast sources of hydroelectric power; (4) exploring its untapped mineral wealth; (5) creating, in the Northwest, a power technology region in which the electro-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries of the West would be concentrated; (6) protecting and stabilizing the fishing and lumbering industries; and (7) exploiting the unlimited possibilities of the region as a tourist and recreational area. Each and every phase of this plan depends upon the unified development of the Columbia River and its tributaries; power is the key to the entire accomplishment. As Dr. Paul J. Raver, administrator of the Bonneville Power Administration, has said, the task is "one of unification—involving the unified, balanced development of a river basin and its resources, envisioned in their entirety."

Plans and planners are not lacking in the Northwest, but at the present time there is no organization responsible for the prompt and efficient execution of either the transitional or the long-range part of this program. Existing agencies cannot undertake the task; it requires a single regional authority with broad powers and a high degree of autonomy. The Bonneville Power Administration is not such an authority. It is an administration and a power-marketing agency, not a development corporation. It was created by Congress in 1937, within the Department of Interior, for the sole purpose of transmitting and wholesaling power generated at Bonneville. Three years later it was given, by executive order, the function of selling the power generated at Grand Coulee. While it is empowered to construct and operate a transmission system, it has no authority over unified stream development or control. Even as a power-marketing agency, it lacks authority to acquire existing private generating and distributing facilities. Nor are its functions in any way related to industrial research or economic progress.

As a great river system, the Columbia calls for unified, organic development. All of the uses to which the river can be put should be considered in relation to the development of the region as a whole. A planning function of this kind cannot be ladled out, a little to this agency, a little to that. Yet the federal agencies that are interested in some phase of the Columbia River are too numerous to mention. The aims of these agencies are not identical; their functions overlap; and with the exception of the BPA they are operated from Washington as straight-line government agencies. It is fantastic to assume that these various agencies, with a little gentle compulsion, can prepare a master-plan for the region or that they could jointly execute a plan if one were prepared. The matter of soils, for example, is of interest to several agencies within the Department of Agriculture; but it is also of interest to the Bureau of Reclamation, the General Land Office, the Geological Survey, the Grazing Service, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs. River development concerns the Bureau of Reclamation, the Geological Survey, the Bonneville Power Administration, the Army Engineers, the Fish and Wildlife Service. Water and minerals concern a host of agencies. Underlying the whole problem, moreover, is the important question of enlisting the cooperation of state and local agencies. With whom are these agencies to cooperate?

To meet this general situation, Senator Hugh Mitchell of Washington, on February 4, 1945, introduced Senate Bill No. 460 to create a public corporation to be known as the Columbia Valley Authority. The corporation would be governed by a board of three directors to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Within two years after its establishment the authority would be required to submit a master-plan for the development of the region within certain policy objectives set forth in the act. The functions, facilities, and personnel of the Bonneville Power Administration would be completely absorbed in the new organization, and other federal agencies would be authorized to participate in CVA activities on mutually agreeable terms. The CVA would have the right to acquire private power facilities, but it would be obliged to sell the distribution facilities so acquired as rapidly as possible to local public agencies. It could obtain the transfer, upon request, of other water-controlled projects. It would be authorized to dispose of surplus electric energy in accordance with established federal policies. It would have broad powers in relation to power development, flood control, reclamation, and navigation. Whether Senator Mitchell's bill is preferable to the Murray bill or the Rankin bill may be debatable; that it can be improved and clarified is altogether probable; but that some such authority is needed is indisputable. It is needed not only to ease the shocks of the cut-back period and to unlock the resources of the Northwest but to protect the more than $325,000,000 which the federal government has already invested in public projects on the Columbia and the $110,000,000 it has invested in war plants in the region.

[*This is the first of three articles on the development of the Columbia River valley.*]

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Fascism Without Mussolini—III

BY MARIO ROSSI

IN A short while, perhaps even as this is being written, a new government may be formed to replace the present Bonomi provisional government in Italy. On the Italian political scene two forces are striving for full recognition—the British-sponsored monarchy, the real force behind a government whose members, while they may be fundamentally honest men, are weak and have no right of final decision, and the vigorous Committee of National Liberation now in control in northern Italy.

In the south today, where the situation is dominated by a monarchist bureaucracy supported by the Allies, there is economic chaos—even bare necessities can be bought only on the black market—and a deep feeling of frustration prevails. In contrast, the north is ready to face the task of bringing about economic and political recovery. Before the arrival of the Allies the partisans had named new provincial governors *(prefetti)*, mayors, chiefs of police, and members of the municipal councils. A Central Economic Commission, composed of representatives of the five parties of the Committee of Liberation and of two workers' organizations, had been appointed to coordinate the economic activity of all northern Italy. This commission is divided into four subcommissions—for finance and credit, industry and trade, agriculture, and transport—whose members are working hard to salvage the machinery and materials which the Germans had no time to destroy, and to start the great task of industrial reconstruction. There can be no doubt that the spirit of initiative shown by both management and labor in northern Italy will find a solution for the many grave industrial problems once the necessary supplies of coal and raw materials are obtained.

The Committee of Liberation has undertaken a complete reorganization of the Fascist judiciary to make possible the punishment of political criminals. There will be no repetition of the judicial farce seen in the south, where top Fascists were allowed to go free so that they might support the monarchist movement. Strict discipline is enforced to maintain law and order. Colonel Charles Poletti, Allied military governor for Lombardy, has stated that "there were no violations of the law or looting, and mopping-up operations of the Fascists and their followers proceeded in orderly fashion." The local administrations set up by the Committee can function because they have the confidence of the population. For example, when the provincial governor of Turin took office, the city had only a three days' supply of flour. Fifteen days later, although there had been no lack of bread, flour stocks had increased. The prefetto explained that the peasants used to hide their wheat from the Fascists but now voluntarily bring it in to the pools.

The Allies were forced by the exigencies of the situation in the north, as they were not in the south, to allow officials appointed by the Committee of National Liberation to remain in power. Otherwise the administration of the whole region would have been disrupted and very serious trouble would have followed. The problem now is whether north and south will join together against reaction, and if so, how. The anti-Fascists hope that a new government may be able to unify the country; they consider the Bonomi Cabinet incapable of doing so. "The Bonomi Cabinet," declared Rodolfo Morandi, president of the Committee of National Liberation, "is weak in composition, feeble in determination, and without a clear policy. Besides the persons directly responsible for appointments, there is a certain something which we are at a loss to understand, and we wonder whether it should be tolerated in the new democracy which we intend to set up. This 'something' is the atmosphere of the government, a sleep-inducing vapor which kills the determination to get things done. It weakens all serious efforts to deal with current affairs with the necessary energy." Even more outspoken was a broadcast by Radio Milan, which is controlled by the Committee of Liberation: "Woe to us if we follow the example of the south. Victory would be crippled, the fifth column would raise its head, and chaos would return everywhere. No, the north, which found the energy to expel the enemy, will also find the energy to frustrate all tricks, from whatever source, designed to save the ruins of a regime which no longer represents Italy."

After such a clear statement members of the government went to northern Italy to try to reach an agreement with the Liberation leaders. At this writing the consultations are still proceeding. The Committee of National Liberation has laid down the following conditions:

1. That a new government be nominated by the Central Committee of National Liberation, acting as the body replacing Parliament in conformity with the fundamental pact of unity among the anti-Fascist parties and with the still valid legality of the constitution.
2. That the National Liberation movement of the north, which organized, directed, and carried out the uprising, be granted representation befitting it as the interpreter of that part of the Italian people which fought for the defeat of Germany and the destruction of Fascism.
3. That the legislation of the Italian state be complemented, with suitable modifications, by legislation enacted and applied by the Committee of National Liberation in the north as the delegate of the Italian government, especially as regards the purge. The purge must be carried out with speed, severity, and firmness, in accordance with legal principles and social legislation.
4. That the heroic Freedom Volunteers be received into the Italian army and into the police forces, which must form the main part of the armed forces of the country.
5. That the new government proceed immediately, in

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agreement with the National Committee of Liberation, to set up a provisional Representative Assembly for the purpose of preparing the electoral laws for the election of the Constituent Assembly.

6. That the president of the Council of Ministers (Premier) and those in the government give concrete guaranties that the aforesaid principles will be applied.

If these conditions are accepted, the monarchy will not be able to exert unfair influence in the elections.

There is evidence that the southern anti-Fascists are just as eager to reach a solution. Pietro Nenni, the Socialist leader, has emphasized the "close connection between the problem of the republic and that of agrarian reforms and between the socialization of big industrial combines and Italy's democratic rebirth." And the Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, who has too often indulged in compromises, now declares that Italy must obtain "within a few months, by means of a freely elected Constituent Assembly, a new democratic and progressive republican political organization." Even the Christian Democrats, through their official organ *Il Popolo,* say that Italy "must break entirely with the past, with methods now dead and buried, with the privileges, the egotism, and the obtuseness of former leading classes which are now bankrupt." Thus all the anti-Fascist parties with a mass following agree with their brothers of the north in demanding a speedy solution of the government crisis; they all insist that Bonomi must go, that a new government must be formed, and that a Constituent Assembly must be called as soon as possible so that they can legally express their intention of living under a republican form of government.

Naturally Italians are puzzled by the delay in revealing the Allied armistice terms. If the terms are honorable, every future Italian government will make it its duty to fulfil them, but if the courage, sacrifices, and democratic intentions of the Italian people have made them no longer applicable, the Allies had better modify them—for the sake of justice and of friendly relations in the future.

The present divergence between north and south, which has been artificially created by Allied support of the monarchy, will persist as long as the British continue their present policies and the Allied armies remain in Italy. The more the Allies build up the conservative elements in the south, the more violent will be the process of unification. It is time England stopped bolstering reaction, a policy it used to defend by alleging military necessity, but can now justify only as political expediency. It is time to recall that Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin declared on October 13, 1943: "The three governments . . . pledge to submit to the will of the Italian people after the Germans have been driven from Italy, and it is understood that nothing can detract from the absolute and untrammeled right of the people of Italy by constitutional means to decide on the democratic form of government they will eventually have."

Italy is now facing a decisive period. The new government will have the task of conducting the elections for the Constituent Assembly, which will decide the form of government Italy will live under. The Allies apparently hope to pit the hungry and politically immature masses of the south against the north and thus to give the monarchy a chance to survive. There is no real split in Italy today; the south also has its great liberal leaders. If the Allies will only refrain from interfering, Italy will struggle toward a solution. And it will be an Italian solution.

[*This is the last of three articles by Mr. Rossi on political conditions in Italy since Mussolini's fall.*]

Franco Skulduggery

ON February 25 two minor Falangist officials were killed at the party's headquarters in Cuatro Caminos, a workers' section of Madrid. There were strong suspicions that the men were assassinated by the Falangists themselves, as an excuse for a huge demonstration. That night sixteen political prisoners were put to death in reprisal. A day of mourning for the murdered officials was ordered, and there were street parades of Falangists, many of them wearing the insignia of the Blue Division. A number of workers were beaten up by Falangist bullies. The funeral cortege was in the most flamboyant Nazi-Fascist tradition.

On April 24 ten men and a woman were brought to trial for the murder of the two Falangists. It was a "public" trial, but only a limited number of newsmen and others, all admitted by card, were allowed to attend. The accused were not permitted to testify or to make any statements but were "represented" by a military officer; five military judges presided over the trial. Confessions alleged to have been made by all the eleven defendants were read. After six hours the judges pronounced sentence: eight to die (one by the garrote), two to be imprisoned for thirty years, the woman to be imprisoned for twelve years. Subsequently one of the death sentences was commuted to thirty years, and the woman was pardoned. It is not clear whether the garrote sentence was changed to death by shooting.

One of the men condemned to death was José Vitini, a high officer in the F. F. I. When the news of his arrest reached Paris, the resistance groups asked the government of General de Gaulle to intercede, and several notes were exchanged between Paris and Madrid, the French government requesting clemency for Vitini because of his services to the "cause of democracy." He was executed, however, accused of being the brains of the murders and also of the bombing of the pro-German newspaper *Informaciones* and of the German Tourists' Bureau (both of these bombings are believed to have been arranged by the Falangists).

On May 3 Ambassador Armour cabled Washington that the "Communist" leader of the gang, Vitini, had received a fair trial with counsel, and that the United States should avoid involvement in the matter.

No bigger bluff has been attempted anywhere in recent months than Franco's efforts to whitewash his regime through phony "amnesties" and the "restoration" of civil rights. Spanish propaganda is now stressing the Bolshevik bogy and the airport concessions to the United States—both imaginary. Meanwhile thousands of Nazis who have fled from Germany with their capital and cartels are comfortably established in Spain out of reach of the Allied occupation authorities.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

PARIS REGAINED

BY CYRIL CONNOLLY

Or l'heure actuelle comporte cette question capitale: l'Europe va-t-elle garder sa prééminence dans tous les genres?

L'Europe deviendra-t-elle ce qu'elle *est en réalité, c'est-à-dire*: un petit cap du continent asiatique? Ou bien l'Europe restera-t-elle *ce qu'elle paraît,* c'est-à-dire: la partie précieuse de l'univers terrestre, la perle de la sphère, le cerveau d'un vaste corps?
—VALÉRY: "La Crise de l'Esprit."

I

A VISIT of three weeks is not long enough to estimate the political situation in any country. In this article I confine myself to the literary life of Paris, for that is what I know. But some kind of political foreword is necessary. Here are one or two rough, unready observations. In France the right are very right, the left are very left—there is no shading off via a sentiment of national unity. The rich are very rich, the poor are very hungry, and rich and poor, left and right, have all suffered equally from the cold. There are four political groups—the right (mostly ex-Pétainists, but not necessarily collaborators), the De Gaullists (mostly of the right, but spirited and patriotic), the resistance (mostly of the left, but including many progressive Catholics), and the Communists (once of the resistance, but now operating as a separate party). The right, which once supported the Marshal, now supports De Gaulle but sees in him a bulwark of property and religion. It includes many ex-Vichy civil servants who are said by the left to obstruct De Gaullist measures which are at all revolutionary, and even to sabotage them so as to provoke a left-wing rising which will swing the government ever more to the right.

The De Gaullist government includes some very able people and shows every sign of knowing how to increase its prestige and its hold. De Gaulle himself is regarded as being above politics: he is the symbol of the new France and is held universally in the greatest respect. There is nothing to support liberal apprehensions that he seeks a military dictatorship or a coup d'état; on the contrary he has shown genuine republican statesmanship. He is, however, obsessed with the question of French prestige and determined to obtain recognition for France as a great power. He is more concerned with the occupation of Germany, the retention of Syria in the French empire, and the representation of France at the peace conference than with internal affairs.

The resistance movement is suffering from erosion. It has to keep together Socialists, Catholics, liberals, patriots, and utopians, and resist indirect pressure from both the right and the Communists. Its popularity is still immense; its powers less so. The Communists are pursuing a long-time policy. They are the best-organized of the political parties; they have ministers in the government and newspapers in which to attack it; they play up their resistance record as the *parti des fusillés* and wrap themselves in the tricolor. They are as nationalistic, or as patriotic, as De Gaulle himself, and will stand for revolution, if at all, only in their own time and in their own way. So far France has avoided a civil war (which no European country can afford) in spite of the crucial nature of its internal problems—food, fuel, transport, unemployment, returned prisoners, nationalization. There is every likelihood that it will continue to avoid one and be steered by De Gaulle through a general election.

This election will certainly lead to a great victory of the left, for the right, in spite of its power and its money and its publicity, has somehow lost its hold. It is too compromised. On the other hand, no one party is likely to have a complete victory, and the pattern for the future is likely to be on the lines of the *Front Populaire*, with De Gaulle presiding over a government of Socialists, Communists, Radicals, progressive Catholics, and generous-minded young patriots, all tinged with the ideals of the resistance. When France's prestige has been reestablished, nationalism may abate, and this new France will then be a very pleasant place to live in and desperately in need of its tourist trade to build up the prewar standard of living. Paris is more beautiful than ever, and comparatively little of the country has been spoilt—except most of Normandy, Marseille, Toulon; otherwise nothing has changed. France is luckily able to feed itself, when transport becomes normal. The black market is still a universal necessity: it cannot disappear until an efficient system of rationing is introduced, and that presents enormous problems in a country where the peasant and the farmer have learned to blackmail the towns. The most striking absence in Paris, besides that of the tourists, is of the large rich Champs Elysées middle class, with their roadsters and dogs and mistresses and noisy wives in all the big expensive cafes. They have vanished from the dowdy, beautiful city much as their counterparts have vanished from London, and Paris is nicer without them. Everyone you meet there now is nice —warm, friendly, intelligent, and exciting. And that is what civilization should mean.

There have been three "literatures" in France since the war began: the literature of collaboration (Giono, Céline, Montherlant, Drieu, etc.); the literature of occupation, that is, of those researches into the human spirit, the meaning of words, myths, and symbols, the fate of man, at a level sufficiently deep to evade the political censorship—such are the writings of Sartre, Camus, Paulhan, Ponge, Valéry, Blanchot, Brice-Parrain, Queneau, Michaux and most of the poetry of 1940-44; and lastly the literature of resistance—literature of indignation and revolt which could only be published clandestinely and which has a political end in view—such are the brochures of the Editions de Minuit, *Lettres*

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Françaises, l'Eternelle and the poems of Aragon and Eluard.

In Paris now no one reads the collaborators. The literature of the occupation, however, is widely commented on and discussed, while the literature of the resistance, which had of necessity been unduly inflated, is now finding its proper level. These distinctions are not absolute, for nearly all the "occupation" writers were also in the resistance movement. One might say that Aragon and Eluard remain "resistance" writers, and continue to fight the battle—which for them has become the policy of the Communist Party; so, but not as Communists, do Camus, Vercors, and Debu-Bridel.

When I went to Paris in January, these groups were just beginning to confront each other. The heavy snow and the emptiness made the city resemble Vienna or Petrograd; it was so unlike the Paris of 1939, or the Paris of the Liberation, as to awaken no nostalgic memories of civic exaltation, and yet the visit made me indescribably happy. London seemed utterly remote—a gray, sick wilderness on another planet, for in Paris the civilian virtues triumph—personal relations, adult-minded seriousness, aliveness, love of the arts. Literature is enormously important there, and one sees how pervasive, though impalpable, have become the irritable lassitude, brain fatigue, apathy, and humdrummery of English writers. At that time the presence of the Germans could still be felt; in the cafe chair where one sat they had sat not so long before. The three familiar waiters of the Flore, the same as in 1939, had tales to tell of them. There were even people who wanted them back. We were taken to see one of the worst of their torture chambers, the shooting gallery at Issy, a closed shed where not one survivor had been found to explain the meaning of the innumerable impressions of hands on the asbestos walls, or the huge furnace for blowing in hot air—only the bullet-torn posts at the end with the blood-stained rags attached to them told a clear story. The sensation of utter evil and misery which emanates from these human abattoirs, as from the dungeons of the Montjuig in Barcelona, still impresses on the visitor something of the ghastly atmosphere of occupied Paris; as do those streets, the rue des Saussaies, du Cherche-midi, de Lauriston, where the Gestapo had headquarters.

It is by bearing such an impression in mind that one can best appreciate the literature of the resistance, and the wonderful courage and resource of those who wrote, printed, and distributed its flaming broadsheets. Some of these are outstanding. There is Jean Tardieu's beautiful lament on Oradour, which begins:

Oradour n'a plus de femmes
Oradour n'a plus un homme
Oradour n'a plus de feuilles
Oradour n'a plus de pierres
Oradour n'a plus d'église
Oradour n'a plus d'enfants
Plus de fumée plus de rires
plus de toits plus de greniers
plus de meules plus d'amour
plus de vin plus de chansons . . .

Then there are Cassou's sonnets written in prison at Toulouse—where Malraux was also interned and where his resistance manuscripts were destroyed. There are accounts of the horrible effects of imprisonment—Cévennes, "Dans la prison," Minerois, "Le Temps mort," an account by Claude Aveline of a woman's life in prison—and "La Vie des martyrs," the appalling document issued by the doctors in the resistance movement, *pathologie des prisons allemandes en France,* which gives a bald and scientific account of the commonest illnesses, disabilities mental and physical, and grave disorders which follow on imprisonment, starvation, and the various kinds of torture inflicted by the Gestapo and Vichy police on their victims.

The finest words on the movement, apart from the poems of Eluard and Aragon, are perhaps the conclusion of Paulhan's little essay, "L'Abeille."

> When I was a child [he writes] I was surprised, like all children, to find so many more deaths than births chronicled in the newspapers. (The explanation—which comes to one later—is obviously that it is rare, except for kings, to be very well known at birth, while for a famous man there is nothing left but to die.) I had also the feeling that all that was going to change, the world was for the new-born, and we would all die much less.
>
> It was an absurd sentiment, yet I think a common one, and it renders more bitter the tragedy of an age when we learn every month of the death of a friend. One was in the *maquis*; his body, already swollen, has been found in a field. Another wrote pamphlets, another delivered messages. They were riddled with bullets while they sang. Others before their death underwent tortures more horrible than the sufferings of cancer or lockjaw.
>
> And I know there are people who say they died for very little. A single piece of information, not always very accurate, wasn't worth that—nor a pamphlet, nor an underground newspaper even, not always very well edited. To those we must make reply: "It's because they were on the side of life. It is because they loved things as insignificant as a song, a flip of the finger, a smile. You can squeeze a bee in your hand till it suffocates. You will be stung before it smothers." "It's not much," you may say. No, it isn't much. But if it didn't sting you, for a long time now there wouldn't have been any more bees.

[*To be continued*]

BRIEFER COMMENT

Advice on Japan

THE BEST TRIBUTE that can be paid to John M. Maki's book, "Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure" (Knopf, $3), is that it represents a "grown-up" study of Japan. It is written by an American of Japanese descent who knows his way around in Japanese source materials and uses them to good purpose. It will not please those who would whittle down post-war policy to curbing "militarists" and tinkering with Diet reforms. Maki poses the problem in its true dimensions. He gives a full-length portrait, for the past and for the present, of the economic oligarchy that has always gone hand in hand with the political oligarchy in Japan. In the early centuries the two were identical; in modern times their common interests have fused them into a single oligarchy, despite surface indications to the contrary. Never have the people of Japan, its ordinary working men and women, been able to throw off the crushing weight of this regime "of the few, by the few, and for the few." In defeat their chance may come. Maki's prescription is quite clear: to give the Japanese people a helping hand when their revolt against the oligarchy breaks

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out. One sentence should be placed at the head of every AMG textbook: "It will be a test of statesmanship of the victorious United Nations to allow Japan to pass through a period of disorder and dislocation that is necessary if she is to be really defeated and if she is to rebuild herself along sane and orderly lines in the future." This is the book to be read by those who feel instinctively that we shall not create a decent Japan or peace in Asia by hastily restoring to power a regime headed by the Emperor and dominated by the monopolists, the landlords, and the court bureaucrats. T. A. BISSON

Fiscal Policy and Social Welfare

THE THESIS that national fiscal policies can and should contribute to social welfare is making more rapid progress among economists than with the general public. No one has yet succeeded in presenting the subject in such a way as to capture the popular imagination.

In "Taxes Without Tears" (The Jaques Cattell Press, $2.50) Dr. Donald Bailey Marsh of Barnard College has obviously chosen a title which he hopes will have popular appeal, but he has not fully lived up to it. After an excellent and smoothly written introduction, the book shifts rapidly into the style of a good economics textbook.

Even so, Dr. Marsh provides as good an introduction as any to the trends in economic theory initiated by Lord Keynes, Sir William Beveridge, and Professor Alvin Hansen. He has made some real contributions of his own, especially in separating from current ideas about full employment a number which are irrelevant and others which are related but not inherent in the basic problems.

The third part of the book, dealing with inequalities in the distribution of wealth, deserves special attention for its clear distinction between the social and the purely economic aspects of this question.

The author explicitly recognizes that the function of an economist as a professional man is to devise and explain techniques of finance, production, and distribution through which social ends can be achieved, rather than to be an advocate of particular social objectives. For the most part, he has kept within this limitation, and has therefore dealt somewhat sketchily with the political action which is necessary before improved economic techniques can be put into practice. CHARLES E. NOYES

Smollett as Traveler

TRAVEL BOOKS are as old as literature, and their history is filled with the illustrious from Xenophon to Lawrence. George M. Kahrl, in "Tobias Smollett: Traveler-Novelist" (University of Chicago Press, $2.75), presents us with an entertaining study of Smollett in the light of this tradition. Like most of the early English novelists, Smollett combined the travel book with fiction and a satiric insight into persons, places, and society. Mr. Kahrl is concerned with all three and their invigorating interdependence.

"To understand Smollett the novelist it is essential to know something about Smollett the traveler. His biography sheds light on his prose fiction, but his prose fiction only confuses and distorts his biography." Aided by Thomas Rowlandson's wonderful pictures of Captain Weazel, Rod Random, Humphry Clinker, and their friends, Mr. Kahrl proceeds to disentangle the confusion with a gusto worthy of his subject. JOHN SENIOR

FICTION IN REVIEW

SINCE all I knew of Marianne Roane's first novel, "Years Before the Flood" (Scribner's, $2.50), was that it had won an Avery Hopwood Award—scarcely a recommendation, in my experience—I took up Miss Roane's book from the random pile of new novels on my desk with little hope of pleasure. After a bad opening page, however, it began to grow upon me that here was one of the most charming and gifted novels, certainly the most charming and gifted first novel, I had come across as a reviewer. Warm, witty, lively, resourceful, with an admirably relaxed taste and intelligence, this story of life in a small German town in the year 1927 is the sort of surprise I had almost stopped looking for—a novel which is not at all great nor was for a moment intended to be (a matter I bring up only to forestall the disappointment of those readers who in their search for greatness are always being taken in by the pretensions of the profoundly mediocre), but which introduces a new and beginning writer in a modest, thoroughly enjoyable literary performance. That it is an unfashionable performance is, for me, a large part of its merit. Nowadays, when writers are as intelligent as Miss Roane their novels are almost invariably bookish, derivative, introspective, over-sensitive, self-regarding—any of these things or all of them. Remarkably, Miss Roane's novel is none of them.

Miss Roane works on a limited canvas: her subject is the Rant family and a few of their friends and neighbors. The Rants get up in the morning, they eat their meals, Mr. Rant works in his toy factory, Mrs. Rant shops and fusses, their daughter Magdelone goes to school, a cousin comes from America, the Rants entertain at coffee in the garden, the town celebrates the Pentecost festival. The period of time covered by the narrative is a few months in a year when Nazism was only beginning to crystallize a threat; Hitler's name is never mentioned. Yet in purely novelistic terms —that is, in human terms—"Years Before the Flood" conveys more of a sense of past and impending German catastrophe than almost any other novel I have read. Compared, for instance, to Katherine Anne Porter's "The Leaning Tower," Miss Roane's story, while it makes no attempt at the formal, almost regal, art of Miss Porter's novelette, communicates rather better, it seems to me, the juicy, commonplace fact of life in even a bitterly frustrated, self-pitying country. The Rant family and its circle are muddled and various, fine and awful, like any family group in whatever political circumstances. Because she refuses to see people as political principles, Miss Roane sacrifices a certain easy grandeur; she also sacrifices the moral superiority to her characters which, ironically enough, has become the stamp of literary art in our recent democratic culture. Instead, Miss Roane writes out of a free and equal creativeness. Except for the one character, the Nazi Dr. Steinhuber—and even he is far more created

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than the usual stereotype—she is fond of all her people, sound or unsound, strong or weak, simply because she found them worth writing about. Nor are there any surrogates for its author in "Years Before the Flood," not even the child Magdelone, who may be Miss Roane as a little girl. Not afraid of being judged by the fictional company she keeps—and what courage that would seem to take these days!—Miss Roane produces a company so vividly human that it can only do credit to her mind and heart.

Similarly off the modern style is Miss Roane's willingness to waste time on scenes and dialogue which have no apparent purpose in the narrative plan. "Years Before the Flood" is not a long book, but it gives a nice impression of prodigality; it knows that no less interesting than the central design of life is the detail of its decoration. The descriptions of the toys in Mr. Rant's factory, the conversations over the Rant coffee table, a passage like the discussion of Mrs. Rant's headaches—these are unnecessary, if you will, to Miss Roane's basic dramatic theme, but their wit and friendliness are the very staff of fictional life. Perhaps it is because the modern novel refuses us this casual ampleness and instead feeds us only what it thinks good for us that it is losing its power truly to nourish our spirits.

I have no idea what we can look forward to from Miss Roane as a novelist in the future. It is always chancy to prognosticate from a first novel, and in the case of "Years Before the Flood" there is a circumstance in the book's manner of publication which makes a forecast even more difficult. I refer to the fact that I do not know whether Miss Roane's novel is wholly invented or autobiographical—and therefore do not know whether she set herself a very large task which she solved successfully or a smaller task which she solved successfully; and obviously there is much surer "promise" in a novelist of proved powers of imagination than in a novelist who may be dependent upon personal experience. The biography on the dust-jacket of the book clearly implies that Miss Roane was born and bred in Michigan: "Marianne Roane started writing in the spring of 1943, when she was doing graduate work in English at the University of Michigan. Before then she had attended Jackson Junior College in her home town, Jackson, Michigan, and had planned a career as a painter . . ."; and this implication is strengthened by the unusual wording of the conventional flyleaf formulation: "The characters and incidents of this narrative derive solely from the author's imagination and have no counterpart in life." At the end of the story, however, when the Rant family emigrates to America—Magdelone is then thirteen—it occurred to me that I might have been misled in my assumption that this was entirely, and therefore amazingly, a work of the imagination. A telephone call to Scribner's did not clarify the situation to my satisfaction, and I can only hope that if Miss Roane did spend her early years in Germany the information was not suppressed, by either Miss Roane or her publishers, out of the unpleasant and unfounded belief that this would be prejudicial to her novel. Novels by German-born authors have appeared in this country all through the war, and I have no slightest recollection of any discrimination against them. Indeed, our attitude toward German-born writers and artists is one of the happier aspects of our war-time culture.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MY MIND has kept reverting to Virgil Thomson's remark, in his review of Dr. Alfred Einstein's "Mozart," that he was bothered by Dr. Einstein's "assumption that his undoubted familiarity with the facts of Mozart's life, including his working habits, gives him automatically a true insight into the meaning of Mozart's works," when Dr. Einstein's actual statements about the works, as Thomson demonstrated by quotation, showed no such insight but rather a "pontifical obscurity." For Thomson was dealing effectively with a very important contention of the musicologists.

The German musicologists now among us exhibit a consciousness of having conferred on the American musical public great benefactions for which it has not shown itself sufficiently grateful. As they see it, they brought the light of knowledge to a land dark with ignorance. There was music here; but there was not the understanding of music possible only with the *Musikwissenschaft* which they brought. And among their benefactions, then, have been the books—Leichtentritt's "Music, History, and Ideas"; Láng's "Music in Western Civilization"; Einstein's "Greatness in Music" and "Mozart: His Character, His Work"—which have provided the public with that knowledge indispensable for understanding: the knowledge of the historical development of music as part of all history; the knowledge, then, of the place of a particular piece of music in the development of musical forms and styles, of its relation to all that was involved in its creation—the personal character of its composer, the social and cultural events, forces, and tendencies of the period by which he was moulded as human being and artist.

The first thing to say about this is what Thomson points out about Dr. Einstein, and what is true of the other musicologists: they claim that knowledge is necessary for understanding, but their own knowledge about the relation of the style and form of a piece of music to all that was involved in its creation does not enable them to say anything about the piece that reveals any insight into its nature and effect as a work of art. If their knowledge is necessary for understanding it certainly is not sufficient. But the second thing to say is that the knowledge can be interesting and valuable in and for itself, but it is not necessary for understanding of the music. And, indeed, the third thing to say is that in practice it impedes understanding.

E. M. Forster has made some pertinent observations on what he calls the "pseudo-scholar's" treatment of literature. Forster writes: "Everything he says may be accurate but all is useless because he is moving around books instead of through them, he either has not read them or cannot read them properly. Books have to be read (worse luck, for it takes a long time); it is the only way of discovering what they contain. A few savage tribes eat them, but reading is the only method of assimilation revealed to the west. The reader must sit down alone and struggle with the writer, and this the pseudo-scholar will not do. He would rather relate a book to the history of its time, to events in the life of the author, to the events it describes, above all to some tendency."

In line with these are some of Balanchine's observations in the February-March issue of *Dance Index* that I mentioned a while ago. A ballet, he says, like a symphony, can be understood without any verbal introduction or explanation; it is not something to read in a programnote but something to see, as the symphony is something to hear. "The important thing in ballet is the movement itself, as it is sound which is important in a symphony. A ballet may contain a story, but the visual spectacle, not the story, is the essential element. The choreographer and the dancer must remember that they reach the audience through the *eye*—and the audience, in its turn, must train itself to *see* what is performed on the stage. . . . Dance is continually in motion, and any single position of a ballet is before the audience's eye for only a fleeting moment . . . but memory combines each new image with the preceding image, and the ballet is created by the relation of each of the positions or movements to those which precede and follow it." And while Balanchine does not state it, the musical analogy is obvious: the audience must train itself to *hear* each new sound, which memory combines with the ones that preceded it, building up the impression of the entire work.

When I say that the knowledge the musicologists consider necessary prevents understanding of music I mean that it interposes itself between people's minds and the music, and substitutes itself for the music in their minds. Look around at a concert: you will see people not listening to a piece of music but reading about it—about its meaning, its style, its relation "to the history of its time . . . to some tendency." Talk to people who have heard a piece of music: you will find that what they listened for and got from it is its relation to period and tendencies. Read an announcement of a summer music institute: you will discover that it is going to be concerned with music in relation to periods and tendencies: "The music of the nineteenth century was dominated by the virtuoso and the mass orchestra. Seen as an expression of its time the worship of the virtuoso on the concert stage was a part of the hero-worship of this age. The development of the mass orchestra coincided with the process of industrialization and mass production. . . . The amazing return of contemporary music and musical practice to polyphony and to the smaller ensembles of chamber music may be understood as a reflection of the awareness of the fundamental task that confronts our generation: the reconciliation between individual and society."

And that brings me to the fourth thing to say. The musicologists have done the public a disservice not only by distracting its mind from the music, but by distracting it with material as bad as what I have just quoted, or what I

Alcoholics ARE Sick People

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quoted from Einstein's "Mozart" recently, or what I quoted from Leichtentritt's "Music, History, and Ideas" a few years ago: "There seems to have been something fateful in the circumstance that Mozart died in 1791 just as the French Revolution reached the height of its frenzy. Haydn, robust and masculine, could still profit from the tremendous changes that were brought about by the French Revolution. Mozart, more delicate, extremely sensitive, with an almost feminine susceptibility, was so thoroughly a child of the dying rococo age that the rude shocks of the French Revolution were a fatal blow to him." Or, finally, what there wouldn't be space to quote from Láng's torrential "Music in Western Civilization."

Mr. Agee's film column will appear as usual next week.

CONTRIBUTORS

MICHAEL FOOT, formerly acting editor of the London *Evening Standard,* is now on the staff of the London *Daily Herald,* for which he reported the San Francisco conference. He has just left for England, where he will stand for Parliament in the constituency now represented by Leslie Hore-Belisha.

T. A. BISSON lived in China for four years. He is the author of "Japan in China."

CAREY McWILLIAMS is the author of "Factories in the Field" and "Prejudice: Japanese Americans."

CYRIL CONNOLLY, editor of the English literary monthly *Horizon,* sent us advance proofs of his report for that magazine of his visit to Paris. He has added, for American publication, the introductory section on the political situation in France.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Louis Fischer Resigns

Dear Sirs: For over a year I have noted a steady deterioration in the quality of the political matter printed in *The Nation.* Many months ago I talked to the editors about this. In several conversations I gave specific instances of situations misinterpreted, facts omitted or distorted, and opportunities missed. Since then I have read *The Nation* with great care, and I now find its presentation of current events so misleading that I cannot continue as its contributing editor. I therefore ask you to remove my name from the masthead.

I have been associated with *The Nation* for twenty-two years, and I take this step reluctantly. In past months I have gone to my typewriter several times to write a letter of resignation. Each time I deferred the act partly out of my personal regard for you and partly because I hoped the magazine would change for the better. But week after week *The Nation* has failed to assess correctly or reflect adequately the crucial period through which the world is passing.

The Nation now has a "line" and omits whatever does not fit the "line." It seems to have lost its zeal for conscientious reporting. I had learned to expect better things from *The Nation.* There were years when you rose up to smite any power that wronged the weak, when your words rang out against every injustice and against the suppression of small, weak states by mighty neighbors. You used to enter the lists against all forms of expediency and appeasement. Now it depends on who is appeased. Now you devote a casual half-sentence to key world problems which expediency impels you to ignore.

Emotions and ideology can be partisan; reporting and interpreting should not be. We owe it to our readers to tell them the truth.

It is a long, long time since I have read in *The Nation* a profound, many-sided, unbiased analysis of the world situation, an analysis uninhibited by consideration for sacred cows or a "line."

The Nation has become very much like a party organ. Its opinions appear to be determined by loyalties to organized groups and to governments rather than to principle. *The Nation* is playing politics; that distorts its policies.

When I saw, more than a year ago, which way *The Nation* was going I asked to be invited to editorial conferences. The request was ignored. As contributing editor, I was not once consulted. I never had any responsibility for the policies of the magazine. You know this. But I want your readers to know it. That is why I am resigning as contributing editor and writing this letter.

We have won the war against Nazi Germany. Great tasks face the world. It is a time for bigness. It is a time for courage in criticism and for bravery in leadership. It is a time for penetrating clarity and hard hitting. I miss these qualities in *The Nation.* What an opportunity you are losing!

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, May 16

[We are sorry to say goodby to Louis Fischer, sorry he believes *The Nation* has "deteriorated," sorry he feels we have slighted him. It would be foolish to pretend that we do not differ from him on many important issues; in spite of this we thought there was some common ground left. We are sorry to find there is none.

Mr. Fischer's letter would be easier to answer if it were not so resolutely vague. Why he felt it better to insinuate than openly to state the causes of his disapproval, we do not know. Certainly it is not the frank sort of attack one has the right to expect from a person who prides himself, as Louis Fischer does, on being blunt and outspoken.

We assume that he is charging *The Nation* with bias in favor of Russia and of communism. We suppose he considers that to be our "line." We suppose he is charging us with ignoring, out of "expediency," the bad behavior of the Soviet Union; of failing out of policy to denounce the Soviet power for suppressing "small, weak states." We suppose all this, not out of a vivid imagination or a guilty conscience, but because we have heard Mr. Fischer express these opinions in conversation—frequently and without any literary vagueness.

We can only answer quite flatly that he is wrong. We say what we believe. What we believe is very different from what Mr. Fischer believes. We do him the courtesy of assuming him to be honest.

It is clear that we are more concerned than Mr. Fischer is about the growing hatred and fear of Russia in the United

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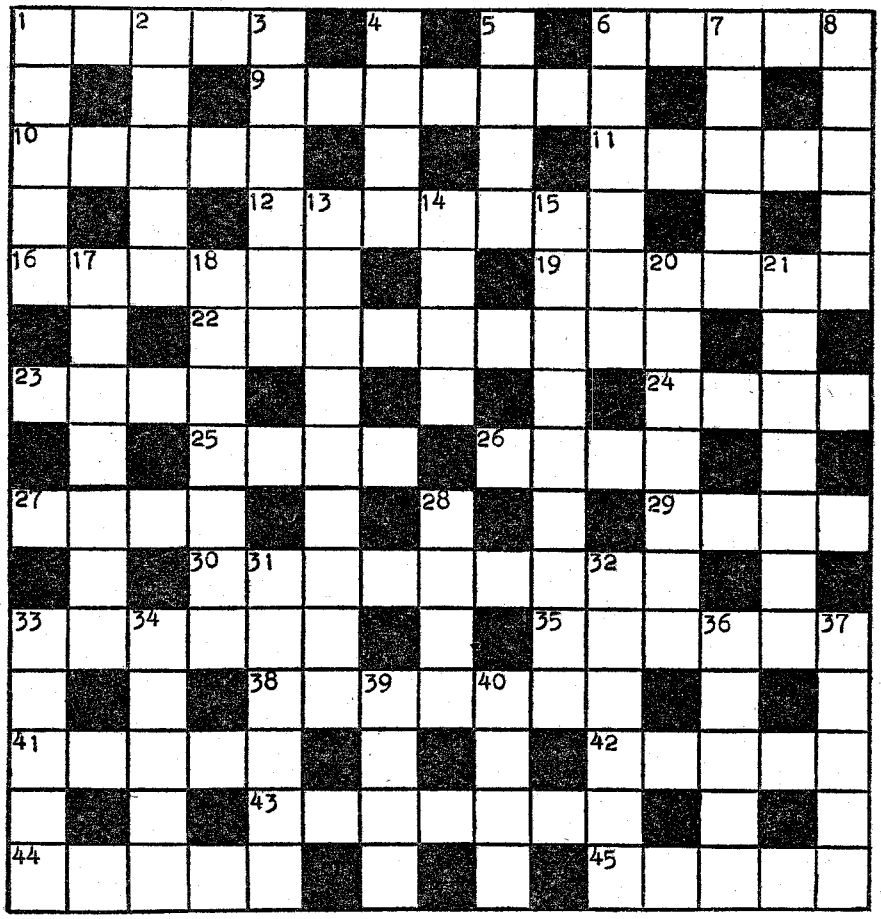
Crossword Puzzle No. 118 by JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Jacob called him "a lion's whelp"
6 Doctor with an inside practice
9 "Flowery ------- he despised" (Coxe on Walpole)
10 Cars must be when new (two words, 3 and 2)
11 Somebody's sweetheart
12 "Serenely full, the ------- would say, Fate cannot harm me, I have dined today" (Smith)
16 Re Monday's dinner, better do it again
19 Lorraine's inseparable companion
22 A tableau, as the artist sees it (two words, 5 and 4)
23 Feel the lack of a maid
24 How much ground would you expect a dentist to tackle?
25 Put upon
26 The cast may be seen in these
27 Stuff some watch "crystals" are made of
29 Colorful girl in everybody's eye
30 Soil that will grow something besides vegetables — but what?
33 What you must do to the bottle before you can commune with the spirits
35 Not cap-a-pie, but almost the opposite
38 Don Carlos looked a better bet to him than Queen Isabella
41 A fowl remark
42 "Little Burr"
43 The Duchess of Gloucester (*Henry VI, Part II*)
44 Bird we tip off to you
45 Boys and girls

DOWN

1 He is expected to swear
2 Aunt in Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*
3 Diogenes looked for such a man in a barrel (an odd place to look)
4 It looks as though the foreign judge might be acid
5 The lout, upset, calls for balsam
6 "Which way I fly is hell; ------ am hell" (Milton)
7 Famous Milanese opera house
8 "All hope abandon, ye who enter here," he wrote
13 Her spring song is famous
14 Common complaint, getting old after a hundred
15 They are proof against depression
17 Eli is on (anag.)
18 Slake
20 Trippers' summer paradise
21 Birthplace of the "Little Corporal"
28 There's nothing in this dye stuff
31 Necessary even in a quiet game of tennis
32 Professional witness who always makes an impression
33 Take off your hat
34 Indian woman who almost gives a cry of fear
36 Greek island
37 Fancy finding the lowest form of wit in London's *Charivari!*
39 Regretted not being rude
40 An "Oi!" comes from the burial-place of Scottish kings!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 117

ACROSS:—1 GABRIEL; 5 CALIBAN; 9 IDIOT; 10 COMPOUNDS; 11 WATERFALL; 12 ICING; 13 GERVASE; 15 TREACLY; 17 MEDDLER; 19 TONNAGE; 21 UPSET; 23 PEPPERPOT; 25 THINNINGS; 26 UTICA; 27 DISTEND; 28 SWEENEY.

DOWN:—1 GRIMWIG; 2 BLISTERED; 3 INTER; 4 LACTATE; 5 CAMELOT; 6 LAODICEAN; 7 BONDI; 8 NOSEGAY; 14 ALL AT ONCE; 16 CHAMPAIGN; 17 MOUNTED; 18 REPINED; 19 TYPISTS; 20 ESTUARY; 22 SWISS; 24 ETUDE.

States. We think those feelings threaten the whole hope of a long peace growing out of this war; by generating similar feelings in Russia they multiply the unilateral and arbitrary defensive acts of the Soviet government. We believe this anti-Russian mood is not justified by Stalin's basic demands and interests, so far as we know them. We believe Russian policy is primarily a security policy, not an imperialist one; it can become dangerous to the world, therefore, only if Russia decides that the other major powers are plotting against it and takes steps, unilateral and aggressive steps, to offset the threat of a new anti-Soviet alliance.

We have not hesitated to criticize Russian—or Communist—policy when it has connived at the support of fascist or reactionary forces, as when Stalin recognized, and the Italian Communists accepted, Badoglio and the King in Italy. But here, too, we made a distinction between acquiescence in a policy for which Britain and the United States were primarily responsible and initiation of such a policy. Russia has not initiated reactionary policies. It has been high-handed; it has intended without any concealment to make sure that governments set up in its area of interest were "friendly." It has not used its power to keep fascist or ex-fascist kings and generals and admirals in office.

It would be dishonest to pretend that we think Russia's foreign policy is as great a threat to the basic purpose of destroying fascism and its political and economic roots as is the foreign policy of Britain and the United States. With all its arrogance and its open contempt for diplomatic procedure, Russia is carrying through an anti-fascist policy. This is so evident that it hardly needs documentation. The fact is, Russia's own national interests demand the extermination of the whole fascist set-up, whereas the Western Allies plainly fear that the revolutionary changes certain to follow a clear victory of the anti-fascist forces in Europe—and in the Far East as well—would endanger their control, economic as well as political. Indeed this is the heart of the matter. Russia can afford to ally itself with the forces of change; it can afford to wipe out the remnants of fascism and pre-fascist feudalism. Because Russia is not defending a crumbling status quo.

To develop fully *The Nation's* position would take more than this brief space in the letter columns. We shall take the occasion to do it properly in an early issue. Here we can only offer this summary answer to the charges Louis Fischer did not quite make.

—THE EDITORS OF THE NATION.]

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